1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (*26*, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

laid upon her side to sleep. This sleeping position (*tokonaki*), lying on the shoulder with the arms straightened, prevented the elbows from being exposed to pressure or other contact that would mar their beauty. The tying of the knees was for the express purpose of insuring the maiden against sexual attack on the part of a foolish lover or malicious enemy.

A chief's daughter or chief's women of youth and beauty sit with the feet half folded under and crossed at one side in a manner as to protect the ankle bones from possible pressure against a hard surface, a position known as *faite*, thus insuring a smooth skin over the ankles, a mark of beauty.

The "corset" (*nonoo*) for chief-girls consists of a short piece of tapa wrapped about the small of the waist and the abdomen and tied in front. Its purpose is to suppress the abdomen and give the waist a small appearance.

Loau

A famous chief in Tongan legends is Loau who is called the Tui Haamea from Haamea, a district in Vahe Loto, Tongatabu, which according to a prominent Vavau informant was the seat of residence of the Tui Haamea, Tui Haa Loau, and the Tui Haa Tuunga.

The origin of Loau is unknown. There were two and perhaps three chiefs of the name of Loau. The earlier seems to be Loau Tuputoka who is mentioned in the story of the turtle Sangone (26, pp. 49-54). A second Loau bears the additional appellation of Tongafisifonua and to him is attributed the voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152). A possible third Loau is he to whom is attributed the revision of the government of the Tui Tonga Takalaua. Apparently Loau Tuputoka became the father-in-law of the tenth Tui Tonga, Momo. According to an informant of the island of Foa, three formerly important Haapai chiefs were the offspring of Loau: Taufa Tofua of Tofua Island, Fanua Lofanga of Lofanga Island, and Kava Moungaone of Moungaone Island. These sons were sent to their respective abodes in Haapai while Loau continued to reside in Haamea in Tongatabu. The name of his residence (*api*) was Maananga.

Loau is said to have been able to foretell the future and to have cognizance of distant contemporary events; whence arose the saying, *toka i maananga* (first in *maananga*), an expression used to-day as equivalent of omniscient in speaking of the Deity. Whether or not these are attributes of all of the Loau chiefs or only one, I cannot say.

Loau is said also to have resided in Lifuka Island and a district there is still called Haa Loau, although the people of that district claim no descent from Loau.

It is difficult to assign with certainty the period of the rule of the Loau

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *kaatnukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage.

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

lowers, and were dressed in a manner nearly similar, but not with quite so many mats. The lady and her five companions being all ready, proceeded to the *malâi* of Tooitonga, who was there, waiting for their arrival, together with a number of other chiefs, two matabooles sitting before him. The lady and her attendants being arrived, seated themselves on the green before Tooitonga. After the lapse of a little time a woman entered the circle with her face covered up with white *gnatoo;* she went into the house of the *malâi,* and proceeded towards the upper end, where there sat another woman in waiting with a large roll of *gnatoo,* a wooden pillow*, and a basket containing bottles of oil. The woman, whose face was veiled, took the *gnatoo* from the other, wrapped herself up in it, and laying her head upon the wooden pillow, went, or pretended to go, fast asleep. No sooner was this done than Tooitonga rose up, and taking his bride by her hand, led her into the house, and seated her on his left hand. Twenty baked hogs were now brought into the circle of the *malâi,* and a number of expert cooks came with knives (procured from European ships;

* A pillow to sleep on in these islands consists merely of a rod of wood about an inch in diameter, and a foot and a half long, and raised about half a foot by two diverging pieces at each end: the nape of the neck rests upon this.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

erful a party. To this the young chief made only this reply: "*Co ho möóni ;*"* and appeared overcome by a noble modesty, at being so much praised (contrary to custom) before so large an assembly.

In the mean while, Talo, conscious of his error, and ashamed to appear in public, retired to one of his plantations called *Móïë;* whilst Hala Api Api, imagining what must be the distress of his feelings, resolved upon a reconciliation, and having intimated this to his men, he desired them to go armed, in case any misunderstanding should accidentally arise. Accordingly, one morning he and his men left the *mooa*, after having given out that he was going up the country to kill some hogs of his that were running wild: this he did lest the circumstance of his men being armed should give rise to false and dangerous suspicions respecting his intention; and, at the same time, he invited several of Finow's men to come and partake of the feast. As soon as they had left the fortress, he imparted to them all his real intention to offer Talo his former friendship, and to assure him that he had forgotten the late affair. When they arrived near the plantation, Hala Api Api went on a short distance before, and on entering

* Meaning literally, "it is your truth:"—that is, what you say is true.

3: Mariner F-S (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the house found Talo fast asleep, attended only by his wife and one of her servants: they were both employed in fanning him. He left his spear on the outside of the house, and carried his club in with him. The noise he made on entering awoke Talo; who, imagining that the other had come to assassinate him, started up, seizing his club, rushed out of the house, and fled: Hala Api Api pursued him, taking with him his spear: his feelings now being greatly hurt to see one fly him so cowardly, who of late had matched himself as his equal, he at length became so exasperated that he threw his spear at him; which, however, fortunately got entangled in some bushes. At this moment Talo was considerably in advance, in consequence of the time which it took the other to go back to the opposite side of the house for his spear: the latter was noted, however, for his swiftness, and conscious that he should overtake him, he continued the pursuit. Before Talo had crossed the field of high grass adjoining his house, he was under the necessity of throwing off his *gnatoo*, and very shortly after he threw away his club too. Hala Api Api stopped to pick it up, and thus loaded with two clubs he bounded after him with such extraordinary fleetness, that before they had half crossed the next field he overtook him, and catching hold of him by a

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

have been transplanted, in order to give them a finer and softer texture.

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the *fow* or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage them: they appear as if they were made of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed that it must have been procured from some horses that Cook had left there.

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house.

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the *fa*; they are very strong and light.

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather.

Cato, baskets: these are of various constructions; sometimes of a sort of matting made with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Mariner never witnessed one during the whole time he was there. Conversation with people who have travelled is another great source of amusement to them: they are very fond of tales and anecdotes, and there are many individuals who are tolerably skilful in inventing these things, which are then mostly of a burlesque or humourous tendency, but always given as fables. The kind of conversation, which appears to afford them most pleasure is, concerning the manners and customs of the people of Papalangi, as being not only strange and wonderful, but also true! They employ themselves in conversation, not only at any time during the day, but also at night: if one wakes, and is not disposed to go to sleep again, he wakens his neighbour to have some talk *: by and by, perhaps, they are all roused, and join in the conversation: it sometimes happens that the chief has ordered his cooks, in the evening, to bake a pig, or some fish, and bring it in hot in the middle of the night, with some yams: in this case the torches are again lighted, and they all get up to eat their share; after which they retire to their mats; the torches are put out; some go to sleep, and others, perhaps, talk till day-light. The first appearance of day is the

* Sometimes two or three, at other times thirty or forty, may be sleeping in the same house.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner entreated him to accept of something. Being thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *giē fow* *, and this was the only article that the eloquence and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day it is usual to have another meal, when the chiefs receive a number of presents, of different kinds of provisions, from their dependents or friends, which the matabooles share out. In the afternoon some again join in conversation, others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is often continued till very late at night, on which occasion they burn torches, each being held by a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. These dances are generally kept up for about four hours after dark. When no dances are

* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after bathing and oiling themselves, and even on these occasions the houses are lighted up with torches, during two, three, or four hours after dark: these torches are held by female domestics. It cannot be strictly said that they have any fixed times for meals, though it generally happens to be in the morning, about noon, and again in the evening; but it depends greatly upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what presents have been made to them: it frequently occurs that several presents come at the same time from different quarters; then they have a feast: but whatever they have, whether much or little, it is always shared out to all present, each having a portion according to his rank: strangers and females generally obtain somewhat more than is due to their rank. Those who get more than they want never fail to supply others who have not enough: selfishness is a very rare quality among them: if a man has a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a meal, he will readily give half away to any one who may want it; and if any body else comes afterwards in like need, with the greatest good nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely saving himself any, though he may be very hungry.

If during the day a chief, mataboole, or mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). Instead of the word *hiku, mahi,* which means the tail, is sometimes used. 539 825 592

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left. 539 825 829

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them. 571

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao,* but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another. [226]

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish. 539

The Tongan words *ika maka,* translated "rock fish," indicate fish found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.) 825 183

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus. 539

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly. 226 262 272

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea. 539

This species of shark, the *tenifa,* is large and fierce and will attack men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effrontery of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage. 226 571 825

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa.* 539

The *tenifa,* a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.) 825 157

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and soundly. [513]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it, that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:

Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *To'uji aki vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

383. Fie namu pako: - Wishing to smell of *pako*.

The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desiring to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

384. Fuji mo omo: Pulling and slipping.

Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indicate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

385. Laukau falelava: Finery of various sorts.

Laukau, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

386. Mafana a penu kehe: Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

ing where there are a number of big chiefs none of whom has any marked superiority of rank over the others. In such circumstances the work of distribution of kava, food, and other materials, becomes difficult, as questions of precedence are then delicate. 539 164 554 565

495. Hange ha fononga Makave: Like people from Makave. 539

Makave in Vavau is reputed to have had an unusually large proportion of unfortunates disfigured by the ulceration, which destroys the nose. The expression is used of very well cooked food which is compared to the appearance of the victims of this disease. 164 261

496. Tahataha e tama pea papala: Only one child and afflicted with sores. 539 164 812

The original reference is to parents who have only one child, and that one covered with sores. The expression is applied to those who have only one of a thing, and that one is bad.

DEATH AND BURIAL

497. Afia e mala kehe: Keeping vigil in other people's misfortune. 539

The misfortune referred to is death. It is proper for the relatives of the dead to keep watch round the body. This expression indicates one who joins the watchers round the body of a dead person with whom he has no family connection. Among its applications is one to a man who pays unsuccessful court to a girl. He spends his nights and loses his sleep in visits to the young lady who in the end falls to the lot of some other wooer. As we might say in slang that is very near to the Tongan expression, "it has been somebody's else 'funeral.'" 764 751 [584]

498. Lau hono fala: His mat is reckoned, or his sand is reckoned. 539

When one is about to die people are sent to commence arrangements for interment by getting the sand up from the seashore to fill in the grave and build up the mound over it. At the present time this sand is carried in ordinary rough baskets of coconut leaf but previously it used to be brought in mats wound round the waist and having a large fold in the front into which the sand was put. The phrase means that death is certain. One frequently hears it, for instance, in games, said of a side whose defeat appears to be inevitable and imminent. (See No. 505.) 763 [285] [415] [482]

499. Lelei ae ofa ki afitoka: Kindness to the cemetery is good. 539

I feel kindly disposed to this person, but it is best that he be laid to rest in the burying-ground and that my love should go out to him there. Used, for example, of one who for a long time has been very sick, so that his friends despair of his recovery and are tired of looking after him. 761

500. Hange ha mata tae pokia: Like an eye not shut. 539

This refers to the closing of the eye of the dead. The expression is used of one who sleeps with his eyes open, also of a person with a frank open countenance, and of sun, moon, or stars when they appear clear and unclouded. 764 513 826 821

11: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

The results summarized in Tables II and III show that the Tongans are among the tallest groups of mankind. The men average 173 centimeters or about 5 feet 8 inches in height. On the average the women are 10 centimeters, or 4 inches, shorter. The head is both long and broad yielding an average index of 81.1 for the men and 81.6 for the women. There is no assurance, however, that these are the natural diameters of the Tongan head. In the skeletal material brought back by Gifford and McKern, seven crania were in a fair state of preservation. With the single exception of one cranium of a young child all of these crania showed a moderate to a pronounced degree of occipital flattening accompanied by marked asymmetry, pointing clearly to the fact that they had been artificially deformed. The cranial length-breadth indices were 82.7, 84.5, 86.0, 86.0, 88.2, and 93.7. These average 86.8.

At my request inquiries were made by Gifford and McKern as to the prevalence and methods of head deformation. The information shows that the Tongans in the past and to some extent at the present time shape the heads of children, but the description of the methods employed throws no light on the deformation seen in the crania. According to several informants the child was laid on a piece of tapa with the top of its head placed against a heavy block of squared wood, the pressure tending to flatten the top of the cranium. The deformation described above is decidedly not of this type. Since this procedure is said to have been continued for one month only, its effect may be considered as negligible. It is difficult to understand how it would have any appreciable effect even if continued indefinitely, since the amount of pressure involved must have been very slight.

In the Tongan skeletal material that I examined, the tops of the crania show no evidences of flattening. The deformation on these Tongan crania is very similar to that observed in the crania of many groups of Indians in the southwestern United States. Occipital flattening is usually thought to be accidental—at least in origin. When the effect of it was once recognized, conscious effort may have been made in certain groups to duplicate by artificial means the results obtained by accident. The hard beds and wooden pillows that are still in use among the Tongans suggest a possible explanation of the occipital flattening, as it is known that a certain amount of deformation or flattening is easily brought about by hard pillows, particularly in persons who are naturally short headed. Examples of such accidental flattening of the occiput are numerous among the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. The only difficulty involved in this explanation is to account for the difference between the degree of deformation found in the living series and that in the cranial series. It is known that the crania are not modern. The average length-breadth index of these crania is nearly 6 points higher than the same index in the living. On the whole, while the implication is that deformation is not so prevalent at present as in the past, it seems better to base no generalization on the

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

eaves, and left only the door-way open, which was never closed, night nor day.

Such spacious habitations are necessary for the chiefs, whose household, in general, is large, as composed of many attendants. But there are generally small apartments contiguous to the house, in which his wives and children lodge. One of his wives, however, for the most part, slept with him in the same room, in a space, separated from the rest by inclosures of Takkabou, or matting, three feet high, fitted up to the beams, that went across to the centre post, to keep it upright.

The household of Mulkaamair was considerable. He had at different times from four to eight wives, eight sons and five daughters, besides many attendants. The children were all in great subjection to him, and of different rank and dignity, according to the rank of their respective mothers. For family dignity, in Tongataboo, descends not from the father, but the mother, owing, it is probable, to the frequency of divorce, and of illicit intercourse.

When the day declined, about seven o'clock, if they were not disposed to dance, they would retire to bed, or, more properly, to recline on their matting.

But when they had retired, the most social employment of the day took place. As they lay reclining at their ease, Mulkaamair and his numerous household, that lay round him, would commence conversations, that amused them till they all fell asleep.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

I have been delighted, for hours, in listening to these nocturnal confabulations, and often very much surprised and improved, by the shrewdness of their observations, and the good sense of their reasonings. When they were all lain down, the chief would say, "Tou tellanoa." "Let us have some conversation." Another would answer, Tou Tellanoa gee aha, i. e. "what shall we talk about." A third would reply, "Tou Tellanoa ge papa langee." "Let us talk of the men of the sky." They called us "the men of the sky," because, observing that the sky appeared to touch the ocean, in the distant horizon, and knowing that we came from an immense distance, they concluded that we must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo.

I have heard them for hours talking of us, our articles, dress, and customs, and entertaining each other with conjectures respecting the distance of the country, whence we came, the nature of it, its productions, &c, &c.

Their patriarchal mode of life, in which the younger and inferior part always surround the chief, as the father of one large family, is calculated much to refine and improve their mental faculties, and to polish their language and behaviour.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 distinct from those of the lower and laborious clas-
565 ses, as the man of letters, or the polished courtier dif-
fers from the clown. The lower orders used terms
175 of a much meaner and coarser import: the higher
565 orders were so much refined, as often, for amuse-
175 ment, to take off the vulgar by imitating their ex-
pressions and pronunciations. The family of Dua-
tonga, if they spoke to any of the domestics, or visi-
tors, would always be answered, "Ahee," "Yes
Sire", but most others were answered with, "Co-
hou", Yes Sir; this latter term, if pronounced as it
is spelt, would be a polite reply, but if spoken as if
it was spelt Cohaa, it would be very vulgar, and sig-
nify our broad expression "What", and if spoken
to a chief, the man would be struck down for his
rudeness.

175 Their nocturnal conversations would continue till
513 ten or eleven in the evening, till they all fell asleep.
521 Their conversation and comparisons were sometimes
so very droll and ludicrous, that I occasionally burst
out into a fit of laughter which would make them
say "Coe Kata gee aha Balo" What are you laugh-
ing at Balo? "Mannogge abai eyette ge mou tou-
loo." "He is making game of us I suppose". They
called me by the name of Balo.

If one chanced, during the night, to awake, he
would renew the conversation with some neighbour
that might happen to rouse, and then they would
call to each other till they all awaked, and enjoy
another hour's chat.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household; and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

178 tinned fish. It is apparently easier for the villager to buy
177 a tin of beef from the store than to fish, even though the beef
262 is the bull's toughest cut. But to buy the beef, you need
[432] money, and money you get by cutting copra to sell to the local
[434] store. Thus, the villager has tended to concentrate on his plantation and on his copra. From this point of view, the art
178 of fishing is being so rapidly lost that the sea is becoming
226 about as interesting and as important to the villager as it
823 is to the average large city-dweller in our own society.

178 The villager does not bewail the loss of his techniques.
181 He would become a mere sentimental antiquarian if he did, especially where new methods and novel appliances are more efficient than the clumsy and inefficient techniques of a past age. Where he might well feel, however, that the balance-sheet shows him in the red is in the arts of fishing and cooking and in the loss of the arts of leisure—the arts of dancing, singing, and playing. Here Christianity has taught
[177] him that play is mere idleness, dancing is sinful, and singing
[795] respectable, provided only that the music and words are concerned with sacred topics. As a result, the villager plays cricket and football in brief seasonal spurts and nothing at other times. He sings loudly in church, rarely at any other time. He leaves dancing to untutored children who dance in no tradition except that of their own making. All in all, change in these arts of leisure has given the villager time to spare. But for the *kava* circle and its saving sociability, he would tend to kill his time and then wonder why happiness so often eluded his searching.

THE HOUSEHOLD

592 The Pangai household consists of that group of individuals living together which uses the same cook-house for the preparation of common meals. Generally this group
[513] uses but one sleep-house. A further sleep-house may be necessary however, if the numbers of the household are large.
592 The relationships of the persons making up the individual
602 households (as determined by a census taken of all the
[125] households in the village) consist of twenty-six different groupings of kin. Omitting for the moment the biological groupings of parents and children, there are represented ten types of patrilineal relationship of household members to

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 [574] eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele, [292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her [513] gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-[556] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a [565] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

585 504 296 In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro*, and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made the *kava*. The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished, the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was about nine o'clock in the evening.

[533] [535] More *kava* was served inside the house. There was singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi. At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group 585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife 833 slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom slept at the other end of the house. There was no intercourse on this night nor for the four following nights (five nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono api*, "to make or cultivate a plantation" (the more general term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

of bread, nor forge a bolt, nor splice a strap. Their thirst is not for knowledge, but for showy accomplishments: their genius is frothy and ephemeral. This moral untidiness pervades everything. In the king's palace there is a throne room furnished like an Australian parlour, with Kidderminster carpet, ormolu ornaments under glass shades, and crewel-work mats on the tables,—the whole in unimaginable order,—while in a bare room on the ground-floor the king sleeps on his mat spread on the boards, and eats his yams from a single plate. A Cabinet Minister may be seen sitting on the floor of his well-furnished office eating his mid-day meal from a large dish with his fingers. The Minister of Police bustles about his work, delighted with the new routine he imperfectly understands. "It is excellent," he says with enthusiasm only he cannot say how many officials draw pay in his department, nor can the Premier as Minister of Education. The latter thinks that they are paid in proportion to the number of their pupils, but he does not know for certain. Shrewd old Sateki, the Auditor-General, alone is not enthusiastic. He dares to think that some day his work will be plain to him, but at present his mind is darkened. He is a really dependable subordinate this Sateki, but I can see that he sighs for the day when he received his orders, right or wrong, and had only to carry them out without the responsibility of deciding anything for himself.

He was the only official besides Tukuaho who attended his office every day. The pay of the Civil servants was fixed on the supposition that they should have time for the cultivation of their food-gardens. The clerks had to attend

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens, whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straightway one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass. Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were, upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff. On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone maintained the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass decanters, china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees, ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the furniture and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion; while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor, ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-glass decanter. But now even those glories have departed, and the house is empty except when the king pays a flying visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores, built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

latter throw out a most disgusting odour. There are insects that bite, and insects that suck, and insects that scratch, and insects that sting. Their name is indeed "legion." Some are cased in armour as hard as crab-shells, and, therefore, cannot easily be crushed. Others are plump, and so thin-skinned, that the slightest touch will cause their destruction. Of all these pests, however, the musquito stands unrivalled in its power to inflict a whole catalogue of petty, but not the less irritating, annoyances, upon residents in intertropical climes.

With the thermometer standing at 80° in your bedroom, musquitoes swarming round your curtains, and too often within, sleep is a blessing which comes but seldom, and never is sound or refreshing. Not content with sucking the blood out of your veins, they pour a venom into them, throwing the most philosophic of their victims into a state of fever and irritation. The heat itself, enervating and exhausting as it is, would be much more endurable but for these winged pests of society. The very noise of their trumpet,—loud and long for such a tiny creature,—is more effectual than even their bite, in preventing any possibility of obtaining repose. They seem also to know, instinctively, the most tantalizing way of approaching their victim, and where most effectively to alight, and thrust in their blood-thirsty lancet. It is in vain that you get into a passion, and slap your own ears, or forehead, with the hope of annihilating the obnoxious enemy. The very act only prolongs and increases the misery. The motion of the air, so disturbed, blows the light musquito to a safe distance, only to return to the charge, with, apparently,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

136 513 increased zest and indomitable perseverance. The best way is to let him alight, if he will, and gorge himself with your blood; for, while so employed, you can quietly crush him. When, however, they come in troops, the contest may as well be given up at once, with as much patient resignation, as one can command.

136 342 513 The natives adopt various plans for evading the troublesome company of these insects. In some islands, where they swarm by myriads, the people construct small huts, to sleep in, by the sea shore. These huts are elevated upon four posts sufficiently high to overtop the bushes and low trees beneath, where the musquitoes nestle in greatest number. Here, no doubt, considerable relief is obtained, owing to the airy position. Nor has it been an uncommon practice, when the swarms have been immense, for many of the people to dig pits in the sands on the sea-shore, where, covering themselves in from the tormentors, they have secured the necessary repose. Even the scented oils, with which the natives anoint themselves profusely, do not deter the musquitoes from alighting and making an attack: although there can be no doubt that these prevent or greatly diminish the irritation caused by their bite.

136 513

136 513

136 302

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602 603 784 [264] No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 784 602 [291] [513] [516] [521] [764] [264] Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. [516] [195] [521] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and [589] [764] [535] [276] [524] [758] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the [816] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

604 602 [601] Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602 604 784 [276] [764] [601] *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

While I was staying in the village, a quarrel occurred between a man and his classificatory sister who were the second cousins. The reason for their quarrel is as follows: Two girls (H and V) in the village had the same boy friend. The woman (A) took the side of V, although her brother's (B) wife (C) took the side of H, and there was a dispute between them. Then A's adopted son (D) of six years old hit B's son of two years old. Getting angry, B hit D back. So A went to law with B, and B sued D for his violence. Since then, A, B and C, who are next door neighbours, have remained unfriendly.

There is much more emphasis on correct behaviour in the case of a real and direct relationship than a classificatory one. For example, the brother-sister *tapu* is most strictly observed, but between cousins (classificatory brother and sister) it is sometimes relaxed. Sometimes cousins joke and laugh in loud voices in a way that is never found in the real sibling relationship. And one dares not employ his *ilamutu* privilege towards the classificatory *fa'e tangata* so freely as towards his real mother's brother.

Next we shall examine a few practices in connection with kinship behaviour.

The Place to Sleep

It is said that the brother and the sister do not live usually in the same house after ten or twelve years of age. In this village there are only two wooden houses having more than two rooms and the remainder are the houses, each with only one room. A boy who reaches about the age of ten is supposed either to build a hut or find some other place to sleep. Out of 33 households ten have boys and girls who are older than ten years. These ten households are grouped into four according to the place where the boys sleep.

(a) in the main *fale mohe* with sisters — — — 3 households
(b) in another *fale mohe* — — — — — 5 households
(c) in *fale kai* — — — — — — 1 household
(d) some brothers in another *fale mohe* but others with sisters — — — — — — — 1 household

One of (a) households has a large wooden house, permitting the boy to sleep in a separate room from his sister, so that this case may be added to (b).

Out of 19 boys 14 sleep apart from their sisters. Sometimes a little boy of six years old sleeps with his elder brothers, thus separated from his sister and parents. Among five boys who share the room with the sisters, three are eleven years old or over. The oldest boy, the second son of 9, is already married and lives with his father and sister of twelve years of age in his fatherm's house. A fourteen years old boy is the eighth son of 5; his elder brothers are all married. He stays with his parents and his sister of thirteen years of age in the same house. An eleven year old boy is the first son of 3 who sleeps with his parents and elder sister of twelve years old. So the age of girls sleeping in the same room with a brother

14

may be as old as thirteen but no girl over thirteen years of age lives with either an older or younger brother. It is probable that boys are told to sleep in a separate place when the sisters reach the age of puberty.

The commonest way to separate boys from girls is to build another hut for the boys in the same *api kolo*, or to make the *fale kai* (dining hut) available to the boys. Occasionally the father moves and accompanies the sons (two cases) or the daughters (one case). The case of a complete separation is given by 9 who has accompanied four sons to eldest and married son's household in order to part them from their younger sister. These boys also take a meal and work with the brother's family. They seem to be allowed to live with their brother's wife in one room because she is not their sister-in-law but their *mali*.

The Name Giver[20]

The following table shows the name givers for 96 persons of 17 households in the village.

Name giver	First child	Second	Third and subsequent	Total
fa.	3	1	15	19
fa's fa.	1			1
fa's mo.	2		2	4
fa's bro.	1	1	5	7
fa's sis.	4	6	11	21
fa's fa's mo.	1	1	1	3
fa's mo's mo.			1	1
fa's fa's bro's gr. child			1	1
fa's fa's sis.	1			1
fa's fa's sis's da.	1			1
fa's mo's bro's da.	1			1
fa's mo's sis.			1	1
fa's mo's sis's so.		1	1	2
fa's sis's child			1	1
fa's sis's son's wife			1	1
fa's bro's wife			1	1
fa's relative		1	3	4
mo.		1	5	6
mo's mo.			3	3
mo's bro.			2	2
mo's bro's wife			1	1
mo's sis.			2	2
mo's mo's sis.			1	1
mo's mo's mo's bro.			1	1
mo's relative		1		1
not related	2		2	4
unknown			5	5
Total	17	13	66	96

20. A person's name may change sometimes two or three times in his life. But the name given on his birth is only one for each person.

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided into town allotments. A brother of one of the present title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however, and already a number of town allotments are occupied by more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking [342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure, [513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In some cases, there are other structures as well, providing additional sleeping space. And there may also be an enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

relaxing or soothing, which may have given rise to the translation of *'upe* as lullaby. Even in 1953 when Great Britain's Queen Elizabeth visited Tonga she was awakened by noseflutes. A recording of noseflute music can be heard each day at the opening and closing of the Tongan broadcasting station. The word for noseflute, *fangufangu,* also means "to awaken gradually" and it is said to have been a punishable offense to awaken a chief by startling him. Traditionally, a commoner may have been considered presumptuous if he attempted to use a noseflute, to awaken someone in his own family (which had its own internal ranking system, see Kaeppler 1971 b). I suggest that the panpipe in Tonga could have been either a substitute for a noseflute and used by the lower classes as a functional replacement of this chiefly instrument, or it may have been an alternate or additional instrument for noseflute functions. The noseflute in some contexts may also have been used as a pleasurable way to pass the time—again more the prerogative of chiefs than commoners.

In support of this argument, I offer the two lines of evidence explored above. First, that a panpipe was capable of simulating melodic contours conceptually similar to the playing of two melodic contours by two noseflutes with slightly different sets of pitches. They were not, however, trying to reproduce noseflute pitches or to play the same songs—which may still have been considered *fie'aki* (i.e., presuming above one's station). The reason for simulating the sounds of two noseflutes may be a reflection of social structure. When used to awaken chiefs, if two or more noseflutes were played together, they would have produced a polyphonic structure which could have been one melodic contour (*fasi*) played at different pitch levels and with slightly different pitch relationships; or a *fasi* played on one noseflute and accompanied by one or more drone pitches on the other noseflute(s). As far as we know, noseflutes were not hocketed, but according to presentday informants, the performers played the *fasi* alternately while the other player(s) might play a drone pitch. According to Samwell on Cook's third voyage, "about sunset they play upon their flutes . . . before their Houses" (Beaglehole 1967, part 2: 1036). This suggests that several flutes may have been played simultaneously, which could have been easily heard from house to house. It is likely that they were playing "in concert", playing the same melodic contour on flutes that were tuned slightly differently just

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of
262 the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As
513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well
521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company
Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all
512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long before they returned and with them several more. They now began
648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Too-
276 bough Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught.
[431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the
276 second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was
765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been
643 dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious.
[292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth, and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of
[824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one
[824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

[1] This was the *ta'ovala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

round to the Prince, then rose up and retired in the same order and seated themselves along the front of the Area. Three men who sat with the Prince continued to make an Oraision consisting of seperate sentences all the time the Procession was coming in. After this a man who sat in the front began an Oraision and at the several times during it, went and broke one of those Sticks brought in in the procession. As soon as this man had ended his Oraision the assembly broke up and we were at liberty to go where we pleased; some repaired on board but I and two or three more remain'd to see the end of the Ceremony, which was not to be till the next day.[1] The shed was left standing and the small sticks or poles[2] brought in by the Procession were left lying on the ground; after the assembly broke up I went and examined them and found that to the middle of each was tied two or three small sticks as has been related, yet we had been repeatedly told by those about us that they were young yams, insomuch that some [of] our gentlemen beleived them rather than their own eyes, whereas it is clear we ought to have understood them that they were only the representation of these roots.

Our supper was got ready about 7 o'clock it consisted of fish and Yams, we might have had Pork also, but we did not chuse to kill a large hog the King had given us for the same purpose. The King supped with us and drank pretty freely of Brandy and Water so that he went to bed grogish; he and several of his attendants slept in the same house with us. About one or two o'clock they waked and chated for about an hour then went to sleep again. All but the Chief rose at day break and went I knew not where. Soon after a Woman, one of those who generally attended upon him, came in and asked where he was, I shewed her him laying fast a sleep; she immediately sat down by him and began to beat a kind of Tattoo on his breech with her clinched fists, which in stead of keeping asleep as it was intended it waked him, however he continued to ly down. This is a nother odd custom which they have, whenever the King lies down to sleep or rist two or three Women for the most part attend him, one of them beats or taps gently with her fists on his breech or thighs and as she is tired a nother takes her place, thus they continue some times a whole

[1] 'they [Cook, Gore, King, Anderson and Omai] continued there the whole night except M[r] King, who obligingly return'd in y[e] Evening to relieve me, that I might see the ceremony of next day, as I could not go without such relief, Capt[n] Cook having very properly order'd that the Ship should never be left w[th]out a commision'd Officer on board; while I was commanding Officer I had sent a midshipman with y[e] Boatswain & a party to cut brooms, who was very ill use'd by the natives, the natives struck y[e] midshipman & wrested his hanger from him, & altho' this was upon duty he was obliged tamely to put up w[th] y[e] loss, as Capt[n] Cook would take no steps to recover it. . . .'—Williamson, f. 64v.

[2] I have made an emendation here: the word is badly written in the MS, and looks like 'plates'—probably 'ploles', a slip for 'poles' as printed.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

513 night.[1] One would at first think this would produce the Contrary
643 effect to what is intended but it is not so, for it creates a very agree-
able and pleasing sensation. Omai and I now went to visit the Prince
644 who parted from us early in the evening, for he did not lodge with
the King but in apartments of his own, or such as had been alloted
him some distance from his Fathers; we found him with a Circle of
Boys or youths like himself before him, and an old Woman and an
old man who seemed to have the care of him siting behind; there
were others both men and Women who seemed to make a part of his
household, that were employed about their necessary affairs in differ-
648 ent apartments. From the Prince we returned to the King, by this
643 time he was up and had a crowded Circle before him, composed
276 chiefly of old men; while a large bowl of Cava was preparing a
264 Baked hog and yams Smoaking hot was brought in, the greatest part
of which fell to our share, that is to the boats crew, for these people
512 eat very little in a Morning and especially the Cava drinkers. I after-
ward walked out and visited several other Chiefs and found that all
512 of them either were or had been taking their morning draughts. Re-
turning to the King I found him a Sleep in a small retired hut with
643 two Women taping his[a] breech. About 11 oclock he got up, some fish
and yam, which tasted as it had been stewed in Cocoanut milk, was
648 brought him of which he eat a large portion and then laid down to
644 sleep again, when I left him to visit the Prince and to make him a
present of Cloth, Beads &c[a] I had brought with me for the purpose;
there was sufficient to make him a compleat suit of Clothing, in
which he was immediately dress'd. He first went and shewed himself
to his Father, and then carried me to his Mother, with whom was
ten or a dozen other respectable looking Women. Here the Prince
changed his apparel and made me a present of two peices of their
648 Cloth. By this time it was pass'd Noon, when every one of us accord-
643 ing to appointment repaired to the Palace to dine and presently after
262 dinner was served up consisting of two Pigs and yams, I rouse'd the
King up to pertake of what he had provided for us. In the mean
time two Mullet and some shell fish was brought him as I supposed
for his dinner; he joined it to ours, sat down with us and made a
hearty meal.

651 Soon after dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would

796 [1] This was the sort of massage called *takituki* (*tuki*, to strike). It served to relieve pain,
123 lassitude, and fatigue, says Mariner, to 'give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep'.—II, p. 233. There was a variant: 'Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great'.—ibid.

[a] *his:* MS *in.*

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when [565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their 292 [535] great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other 301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those [352] of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the work- [264] man ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean; they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the 352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon 519 its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

[1] Tongan *malo*.

[714] [2] This head-dress, the *fau* or *faefae*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '. . . both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often mentioned that it is almost needless to add any thing further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food, nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning. I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a] meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women, which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are mats spread on the Ground; & a thick upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master & Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu* except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment.

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who were appointed for the purpose.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly one of the most applauded parts. At the same time the mere acting part independent of that is well worth our notice, both with respect to the extensive plan on which it is executed and the various motions, as well as the exact unity with which they are perform'd; though I did not observe that these were always regulated by the drums, which sometimes beat very quickly while these were slow, but the sentences they repeated or mode of their song constantly accorded with the motions. It has still one greater merit, which is that in most nations which we say are unciviliz'd these things are often instituted with an intention to raise and nourish many of the most mischievous passions, such as rage, an obstinate contempt of death, desire of revenge and others tending to the disquietude and destruction of mankind, wheras this to appearance inculcates the very reverse in every respect. Each motion is made in the gentlest manner, and without those violent efforts which argue an exertion of rage; every word that is spoke, though not understood, might from the manner of its delivery be suppos'd to convey a gentle love tale instead of inspiring rancorous sentiments or brutal ferocity; and every face instead of a sullen frown or distortions which raise terror wears an aspect so placid and benevolent that it is impossible to associate the idea of barbarity along with it.

At night we were entertain'd with the Bo'mai,[1] or night dances, on a space before Feenous temporary habitation. They lasted for about three hours, in which time we had about twelve different ones perform'd much after the same manner as those at Hapaee, but in two that were perform'd by women a number of men came and form'd a circle within theirs, and in another consisting of twenty four men there were a number of motions with the hands that we had not seen before which were highly applauded. The music was also once chang'd tonight and Feenou appeard at the head of fifty men who had danc'd at Ha'paee, in one well dress'd with linnen, a large piece of gauze and some pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident after the diversion was ended what inconvenience we had put these good people to, or rather themselves, for being drawn together on this uninhabited spot numbers of them were oblig'd to lye down and sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree or canoe; and many either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walk'd about all the night.

WEDNESDAY 18th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine

[1] *po me'e*, 'night of dancing'.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolance, for upon enquiring who it was done for they said it was a chief who had died at Va'vaoo some time ago, that they had practic'd it ever since and would do it for a considerable time longer.

In the evening we had a pig dress'd as the hog with Yams and Cocoa nuts brought for supper, and Futtafaihe finding we did not like the scruples they had made before to accept of any part of the entertainment, ask'd us immediately to share it & give it to whom we pleas'd. When supper was over abundance of cloth was brought for us to sleep in but we were a good deal disturb'd by an odd custom, at least amongst the better people, of being beat while they are asleep. Two women sat by Futtafaihe and perform'd this operation, which is call'd Tooge Tooge,[1] by beating briskly on his body and legs with both fists as if on a drum till he fell asleep, and continued it the whole night with some short intervals. After being asleep they abate a little in the strength & quickness of the beating, but resume it if the person is likely to wake, and towards the morning we found the women relievd each other by turns & went to sleep. In any other country it would be suppos'd such a practice would put an end to all rest, but here it certainly acts as an opiate and is a strong proof of what habit may effect. The noise made by this was however not the only thing that prevented our resting, for the people who slept in the house not only convers'd amongst each other frequently as in the day but all got up in the midst of the night & made a proper meal of fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seem'd to know very well the appointed time for such things.

[July 1777]

TUESDAY JULY 1st. The wind N and NNW. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the morning we set out with Futtafaihe and walk'd down the east side of the Bay to the point that is opposite Hoolaiva. The country all along this place is very well cultivated but in general not so much inclosd as at the bottom, and amongst many others that are very large we pass'd one plantane field at least a mile long which was in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour and not a bit of grass to be seen. We found that in travelling Futtafaihe excercis'd a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of some of the principal men, or is perhaps only annex'd to the royal family; for he sent to one place for fish, to another for yams &c and so on at other places, which were always brought with the greatest readiness as if he had been absolute master

[1] tukituki.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

pleas'd with hearing the Heeva of our two young New Zeelanders 533
(from this change) which consists rather in mere strength than 177
melody of expression.

Their weapons are clubs & spears which cost them a good deal of 411
time & labour, the first being made of a solid piece of hard heavy
wood either black or brown, but chiefly that of the E'tóå tree. They [824]
are of various shapes but that they seem fondest of, & which they [293]
always us'd in their public diversions, is one shap'd like a lance at the
blade but a good deal broader in the middle.[1] These are commonly [531]
plain, but a great number of the others which are somewhat quad-
rangular (except the handle) and broadest at the point are entirely
carv'd in that part with lines, little triangles & other figures, some-
times with great nicety, and they frequently venture to make like-
nesses of Fish, Birds & men fighting but are poor imitators in that
respect. The spears are made likewise of a hard brown or black wood [237]
(though sometimes from the Cocoa tree) from five & six to twelve feet
long or more, generally simply pointed but sometimes beset all round
with the ragged bones of the stingrays tail for a foot at the point.
They also make bows and arrows, the first near six feet long, slender
and neatly made with a groove for the reception of the arrow on its
back part. The last are almost as long, being only a reed with a blunt
wooden point which they only use to shoot birds with, but what is a
little uncommon the bow is bent and drawn contrary to the direction
of its natural curve. The stools are about two feet long but only four 322
or five inches high and near four broad, bending downwards in the 531
middle with four strong legs & circular feet, the whole made of one 237
piece of black or brown wood neatly polishd & sometimes inlaid with
bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly flaps with ivory[2] after
being neatly carv'd, and make small figures of men, birds and other
things from bone, which must be very difficult as their carving
instrument is only a Sharks tooth.

The floors of their houses are always coverd with a very coarse 352
kind of matt made from the Cocoa leaf as taken from the tree without 285
any preparation. They sit upon these cross legg'd, a posture they are [516]
so accustom'd to that they cannot do the smallest thing without being
in it. The better sort have often a finer matt to sit on, & the same is 513
us'd as a bed with a stool under their heads when they go to sleep and
a covering of the pieces of cloth they wear. Men, women & children 352
lye in the same place without seperation, unless a few who have a 285

[1] The foregoing sentence seems to be describing a spear, *tao*, the next one the clubs, *akau*, even though in the one next succeeding Anderson reverts to spears. Both were made of Toa, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

[2] Again whale tooth ivory, Tongan *lei*.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less agreeable than our Chesnuts.

The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose. They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'ai*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air. Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called & laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet & touching them with her head, however there are always women in waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

[1] *matapule*, titled ceremonial attendants. [2] *tukituki*.

56: Samwell D,1-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, & then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails & other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people to eat ab[t] that time of night), we partook of some of it with our Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out 'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of it & then employed ab[t] some business or other very innocently

[1] *ko e ha.*

[173 cont.]

342 eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular,
175 but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground, which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded
353 thirty feet, and the breadth was [174] commonly eight or nine. The
262 inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams,
175 which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon
519 them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only
175 spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these
[352] people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Taheitians rest the head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also
342 observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had
175 seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be
609 intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by
175 a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil, and bowed their heads, saying, lelei (good), woä (friend), or some such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and taught us their names; we needed only to show them a plant of which we wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it.
[431] Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

never been recognized as a separate entity by the medical profession at that time. The missionary's wife wrote:

> "After Matthew returned from the islands a very severe affliction broke out. It is supposed to have been brought in a ship to Vava'u, from thence to Nuku'alofa in a canoe, and several of the canoe's crew first died in it. Then it broke out among the people at Nuku'alofa. We heard of the fearful devastation which it made among the people at that place, but nothing occurred here for some time. At length, it found its way to Hihifo, by people going backwards and forwards to Nuku'alofa to attend funerals, &c.
>
> "Some were taken in the way, returned, and died in a few days. It is quite a new complaint in these islands. The first week the complaint broke out here six died in it. We were constantly kept on our feet from the morning to night, giving out medicine, bleeding persons who were seized, &c. It generally attacks the young, strong and healthy. Bleeding is considered indispensably necessary in this affliction. As many as fifteen have been bled in a day at this place. The people are seized in different ways, some at the back of the neck, others at the foot or feet, hand or arms, side, back &c., yet all one complaint. Then comes on a numbness in the limbs, some have much pain, others only a little. It often happens that one or both the arms, one or both the legs, sometimes one arm and one leg, or both arms and both legs, are numb, cold and dead, destitute of all use and feeling. It is almost always preceded by cold shivering, and that followed by a hot fever; very great constipation of the bowels is another very prominent feature in this complaint.
>
> "Many have died suddenly in it, tho' but a few hours before they seemed in full strength, only a little numbness in the limbs. My husband went to see a young woman who did not appear near death then, only both her arms were numb and dead. We went again to her and she was just dying as we entered the house, tho' that were only about three hours after my husband had been talking with her." (34)

In the mid-19th Century the Church was the centre of the community's life. Tonga had become a nation at prayer, in all Wesleyan districts. The Sabbath was the great day of the week, with crowded congregations, enthusiastic choirs, and fervent preaching. Sunday began with prayer meetings at daylight, followed by 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. services, also Sunday School and, generally, evening gatherings of a more informal nature.

Sabbath observance had been readily accepted not only as a welcome cessation from labour but as the external evidence of the change from a non-Christian society. The people believed that the sternest divine sanctions, like their ancient *tapus*, guarded the Sabbath ordinance. This was clear from the early days as when, in 1831, a hurricane wrecked the Spanish brig, *Candide*, in Tongatapu, with some loss of life; the people believed that the tragedy was due to God's wrath upon a crew that had obtained wood and water on the Sabbath preceding the wreck.(35) Tonga has followed its policy of Sabbatarianism to the present day, and this has been embodied in its laws and the Constitution of 1875.

It was almost inevitable that religion tended to consist in compliance with Church rules, as far as many converts were concerned. Attendance at Church in Wesleyan districts was the universal custom; indeed it was specifically enjoined in the Code of Vava'u, 1839, though evidently not enforced. John Thomas declared that even sleeping during a church service was sinful; he believed it was due to tiredness after Saturday night dancing.

> "I told them of the evil of such things and that it was a sin to sleep in the worship of God." (36)

Not only the prohibition of all work and games on Sunday but the rigid control of personal behaviour became marked features of Tongan Wesleyanism. This discipline became irksome to many as time went on. Thomas Adams, who came in 1847, deplored the unwillingness of many converts to accept "the restraints

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

as Cook says, but perhaps his sister's son or someone else of higher *kāinga* rank. Anderson says that it was for a chief who had died at Vava'u some time before (Beaglehole 1967: 911). This is quite likely, as Vava'u was the home of Sinaitakala, i.e., the Tu'i Tonga's father's sister (mother of Latu) and individuals of this line were of higher *kāinga* rank than the Tu'i Tonga. Cook tells us that to the mourning ceremony the king wore 'an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master' (Beaglehole 1967: 140).

This demonstrates once again that even the Tu'i Tonga was outranked within his *kāinga*. The same practice exists today for *liongi* of the high chiefs. For example, at the funeral of Queen Sālote in 1965 it was an honour to wear the most ragged mats, for it demonstrated visually that one was related to the queen (plate 1c). Queen Sālote's mother came from the Tu'i Tonga line making that line *liongi* to the queen—and thus the wearers of the most ragged of mats and the presenters of the most valued of ceremonial gifts, i.e., fine mats.

* * * * *

In this rank-oriented society, material culture held an important place. A few types of material culture will be discussed here to illustrate the usefulness of descriptions and collections from Cook's voyages for research on the interrelationships of social organisation and material culture. It was historical accident that the chiefs met on the second voyage were lower than the chiefs met on the third voyage, and also that some of the collections of artefacts from the two voyages can be separated.[8] These accidents make it possible to relate existing specimens not only to the class structure, but also to levels of chiefs, through written accounts from Cook's voyages and also through traditions still existing in Tonga.

The first type of material culture to be dealt with will be mats, which are the most necessary part of the *koloa* or gifts for any ceremony—be it a societal one or one within the family (family ceremonies having the same attributes as societal ones, only on a smaller scale). Mats have an intricate ranking system of their own, being classified by material and manner of fabrication. All the types of mats known today through fieldwork do not exist in eighteenth century collections. This may be for any one of a number of reasons. They may not have been collected; they may have been collected but then traded to other Polynesians; they may not have been in vogue at that time; they may not have been identified by their collectors as Tongan; or they may simply not have been preserved.

In his second voyage account Cook tells us 'they also make various sorts of Matts of a very fine texture which serve them both for Cloathing and beding. Their Dress is a piece of Cloth or Matting wraped round their Middle reaching from the breast down below the knee, they seldom wear anything over their Shoulders or upon their heads. The dress of the Men and Women are the same' (Beaglehole 1961: 266–7). By the third voyage, however, Cook realises that dress is a visual symbol of rank and adds that 'large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces . . . or the Maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). Cook finds also that 'they have mats made on purpose to sleep upon' (1967:

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

169). And, as mentioned above, ragged mats were worn for mourning ceremonies. However, Cook does not list the function of mats as ceremonial gifts, which is understandable because he did not attend complete funeral or wedding ceremonies —the main occasions of ceremonial giving.

Forster's *Catalogue of curiosities* lists eight plaited items, seven of which are called mats and one an apron, and George Forster mentions 'their elegant mats, which for workmanship and variety excelled even those of Taheitee' (1777: I, 439).

Number 53 in the Forster collection is listed as 'a strong matt, with a black pattern' (plate 2*a*). It is made of light-coloured pandanus (127 cm. × 207 cm.) decorated with a diagonal pattern of black pandanus, and appears to be unfinished if spread out. This item may be a *ta'ovala la*. According to Tongan tradition certain *matāpule* (ceremonial attendants), whose function it was to supervise ceremonies such as installations of title holders and funerals of chiefs, wore a waist mat decorated with black pandanus that came to a point in the back. If this mat were folded diagonally and then wrapped, the design would be on the outside, a triangle would hang to the back, and the part that was folded inside need not be decorated. The only other example of a *ta'ovala la* so far located is in the Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, and it is plaited so that one side comes to a triangular point and need not be folded.

Item Number 56, listed as a mat 'pierced with holes' (plate 2*b*), is probably one of the items George Forster described in his journal as aprons, 'curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of fretwork' (1777: I, 474). This type of garment is a *kie fau* or *teunga fau* and is made of the inner bark of the hibiscus tree (*fau*) that has been partially rotted in sea water. The texture is fine and delicate, and the manufacture is a difficult enterprise in contrast to the plaiting of sturdy pandanus mats. *Kie fau* were worn as waist mats only by chiefs—*kie fau* indicating chiefly rank, just as wearing the *ta'ovala la* indicated that one was a certain kind of *matāpule*.

There are three different types of *kie fau*. The type represented by the Pitt Rivers example (160 cm. × 86 cm.) is plaited with square holes and has a fringe of tabs sewn on with twisted *'olongā* (*Pipturus argenteus*) fibre. A second type with much more openwork is found in Museum collections in Cambridge, Dublin, Bern, and Newcastle—all of which have Cook collections—but it is not always known that these particular specimens are from Cook's voyages. The third kind of *kie fau* has small plaited tabs that form an upper layer plaited out from a solid bottom layer. This type is in the Cook collections in Vienna and Stockholm, and there is one in Madrid that was collected by the Spaniard Malaspina in Vava'u in 1792. The manufacture of these types of *kie fau* was probably discontinued in the early nineteenth century. Today *fau* fibre is crocheted into openwork patterns for similar, but more easily made, decorative pieces that can be worn by anyone. The openwork technique is still known, but the more easily worked pandanus is used instead of *fau*. The functional replacement of the *kie fau*, i.e., the chief's waist mat, is now a soft, fine pandanus mat decorated with red feathers and imported from Samoa. This suggests that when the Tongan high ranking *kie fau* ceased to be made there was nothing of local manufacture that was of high enough status to replace it, and a foreign product was brought in.

But the most precious of all the plaited items to the Tongans, and to Cook's men as well, were the so-called 'aprons of cocoanut fibre'. Cook described them in his

A. [See End Plate 2, following p. 220--Analyst]

/69 cont./
593
784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their parents.

The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes,
593
784 although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for
178 example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or
[513] twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the
[177] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom
[513] being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed;
[516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting, near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together
[264] has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and
[521] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

/145 cont./

177 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves, lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters; construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
177 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
352 house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
354 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
415 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
177 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain (sometimes
352 also with a board wall). (378)
353
177

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground plan it /the bed/ is usually located in one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.
353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
177 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824)

379. The mats are made from leaves of various pandanus species; their size varies from

513
285
[352]
(824)
/145 cont./

about 1.10 x 1.30 meters to about 1.70 x 2.60 meters. For their construction see pp. 305 ff.

However, people often sleep on a single mat. There are no specific data on /146/ the sleep mats used in ancient Tonga. It is to be [565] assumed that commoners slept on simpler mats than did the nobles. [178] Very probably the mats are in general plaited more crudely now than [531] in the old days (380)

380. For example, there are no longer any sleep mats of the quality of the old Tongan mat No. Oz. /oceania?/ 141 (Cook Collection) in the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Gottingen.

and the lo taha and fala tofua, in contrast to the fala paonga which is always in natural color (brown), are decorated not only with the traditional black plaited pattern, (381)

[386] 381. Dyed black with leaf strips buried in the mud of a bog for two or three days and boiled with manaui leaves.

but also with European colored woolen threads knotted on the borders. 513 Some Tongans spread a European white sheet over their sleep mats; but [177] only a few cover themselves with these or with wool blankets. The majority still use (especially on cooler nights) the traditional bast-fabric sleep covers. (382)

382. Perhaps these are today used more by commoners than in the past.

513 The ancient headrests, however, are gradually falling into disuse. One 352 still finds them used by a few older men and women. Some own the 178 typical Tongan headrests (hahapo) made from one piece, very few have the four-footed headrests (kali), the legs of which are fastened to the headrest in pairs with coconut-fiber cords; more commonly used than these beautiful old types (383)

513 /146 cont./
352
178

383. These are no longer made in Tonga and are mostly several decades old.

are the "headrests" (tekihi) made of a simple, angular or rounded oblong block of wood, or the kali papa nailed together out of scraps
513 of imported building timber. However, the majority of Tonga today
178 sleep without headrests; they sleep on the level ground or put their
177 heads on a cloth bundle or on a European pillow that they have made
352 themselves and filled with kapok. In some 30 to 50 percent (384)
177

384. Depending on the location of the settlement (village near a seaport or remote island).

of Tongan houses there are European-type bedsteads (wooden or iron
[283] bedstead or camp bed). Some of the wooden bedsteads were self-made by the natives; on a lacing of coconut-fiber cords (kafa) lies a pile of mats serving as mattress. The beds found in Tongan houses are,
[513] however, only partly used for sleeping (with European linen or a bast-fabric sheet over the mat pile and with a pillow); more as a useful object for storing some of the delicate mats. In some houses today one
751 sees mosquito netting.

285 Baskets are plaited in large quantities in Tonga. (385)

385. See p. 313 ff.

However, today they serve more for carrying than for storing things in
[531] the house. The wealth of baskets has diminished insofar as the /147/
[237] artistic coconut-fiber baskets, for example, (386)
[178]

386. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ I. p. 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung... loc cit. VI. p. 283; also No. Oz. 139 (Cook Collection) in the Institute for Ethnology, Gottingen.

partly decorated with small shell disks, have not been made for a long
285 time. The baskets made today in Tonga consist mostly of pandanus-leaf
531 strips (of several species) in various forms (some using coconut-leaf ribs) (387)

/205 cont./

285 [412] they cut them into strips from which they then plait the papa.

3. Sleeping Mats

lo taha:

[513] The lo taha is the most ordinary sleeping mat and often serves as the bottom mat of a complete bed for girls, women and men. It is also /206/ placed over the papa as a seat mat. On journeys (by boat) it is usually the only sleeping pad. Its size fluctuates around 1.30 x 1.10 meters.

[824] The lo taha is generally made of the pandanus species lou tofua. From the cut leaves the natives remove the thorny edges and part of the midrib with a knife; then they roll the leaves into rather large bundles (of about 40 leaves each) until the leaves change color. Thereupon the leaves are dried in the sun (about four to six days). Then they divide them along the midrib into two halves and store these rolled up (as many as 100 halves per roll) or separately. [412] Before plaiting them they draw a mussel shell or the bowl of a spoon over the leaf halves thus prepared, make them soft and pliable and cut them into narrow strips with a sharp shell splinter, a small piece of tin or a knife. The lo taha are often ornamented with [386] [824] [531] interwoven uniform black strips which have been suitably dyed by being buried in the mud of a bog (for about three days) and boiled with manaui leaves (and kokoa leaves, or also tavahi leaves). For a [531] [177] few decades these mats have also been ornamented along the edges with knotted, colored European wool threads.

fala tutu'ila:

The fala tutu'ila is also a sleeping mat and similar to the lo taha in kind and use.

It is made of leaf strips of the lou tutu'ila pandanus species which is not boiled, but simply dried in the air, like the lou paongo

/206 cont./

285 species (see papa).

fala paongo:

[513] This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a [352] complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and [431] when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua [764] is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x 1.20 meters.

[824] The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species; [531] these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

[513] This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost [431] layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse [585] is laid to rest on it.

[764] Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips [824] of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

285 291 ta'o-vala tofua:

This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size. [554] /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

[824] and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
[824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it somewhat darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also sometimes interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multi-
[531] [177] [386] colored, artificial European dyes.

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is
[291] no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

[824] [531] They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of the same species.

/208/ 5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 565 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is
[431] [585] given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male of female friend as
[585] [292] [764] a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it.
[513] The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

285 824 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see above under ta'o -vala kie).

287 /217 cont./
292 also no longer used as a sign of taboo. (569)
[784 198]

569. Still mentioned, for example, in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 233.

[513] But at any rate the Tongans use tapa today, as in the past, largely as a sleeping pad (on the mats) and also especially as bed covers. At festive and solemn occasions, especially at a wedding and a burial, [752] bast cloth plays an important role, rooted in tradition. For dances the natives still like to wear tapa clothing; and finally, as in old times, strips of white bast cloth are used as bandages for wounds.
287 353 198 Apparently recent is the widespread use of tapa as a curtain inside the dwelling where it partitions off parts of rooms, replacing the movable interior walls (standing mats) formerly used for this purpose.

Today, in Tonga, tapa is made in the following way:

248 The paper mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera) is planted specifically for making bast cloth. Men (sometimes also women) plant saplings on land that has been cleared of weeds (also in an old harvested yam field). While it is growing, the women remove the weeds that shoot up and break off the sprouting twigs from the saplings, so that the latter will grow quite tall. When the little paper mulberry trees (hiapo) have become tall enough, that is, after one or two years, the women (sometimes also the men) cut the small trunks with a machete or an axe.

287 They take the small trunks to the village and keep them in the house for three to six days so that the bark loses its stickiness. Then, with their teeth, the women notch the layer of bark at the lower end of the little tree about five centimeters lengthwise, and, with their hands, vigorously pull off the entire layer around the trunk in a single strip. On the inner side of this layer of bark is the bast needed for tapa-making. This they remove from the bark by separating it from the lower end with a machete (or a kitchen knife) and pulling

/219 cont./

usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut from the roll.

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

287
531
212 a certain flower ornament

Pattern on a ngato tapa 'i ngatu: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

287
(513)
353
342
431
292
764 Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.

3. ngatu 'uli:

287
531
386 This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown koka color and blackish koka and Aleurites soot). It is decorated with print panels (chiefly with the "manulua" pattern, namely, cruciform triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire blackish surface.

287
513
431
764 This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.